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ABSTRACT

Twenty documents discussing the beneficial effects of school desegregation, particularly on black children, and thirteen studies finding desegregation harmful are cited and their major findings and research methods described briefly in this document. Essentially an annotated bibliography, the report concludes by summarizing briefly the results of the studies cited. The author states that the research has not led to definite, agreed-upon conclusions, though it is generally held that integration increases the number of interpersonal problems faced by black students while helping them relate to their white peers academically. (PGD)

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SCHOOL INTEGRATION - HOW IT EFFECTS BLACK CHILDREN?

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INTRODUCTION

On May 17, 1954, ninety-one (91) years after the Emancipation Proclamation, the Supreme Court of the United States reached a decision on a case that would have considerable impact on the education of all Americans. This case reversed the decision of a Louisiana court, the case of Plessy versus Ferguson, in which the court found that separate but equal is constitutional. It was the landmark case of Brown versus the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas. The Supreme Court decision stated that the separate but equal doctrine deprived Black children of equal protection under the law and was therefore unconstitutional. It was the courts decision that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. The Supreme Court held that in public education separate facilities could not be equal.

Subsequent to the Brown decision schools were still segregated. Black children were not permitted to attend "white" schools in their neighborhoods. States did nothing to eradicate these "separate" facilities. Conditions remained the same, as if the Brown case had not occured.

On May 31, 1955, one year after the Brown decision, the Supreme Court ordered an end to segregation, with all deliberate speed. The Supreme Court did not mandate immediate desegregation of public schools, consequently there are still areas of the United States which have not desegregated. (Throughout this study, the terms desegregation and integration will be used interchangeably.)

Due to recent problems, within cities which have started desegregating their public schools, there are questions raised as to the effect of integration on the Black child involved. It is these questions that prompted this study. To be considered are the following questions:

> How does integration affect Black children academically?
> Does integration have any psychological effect on Black children?

These questions will serve as the basis for the organization of this study.

The first section has dealt with the positive effects of integration. In the second section, the negative aspects have been discussed. Within the two categories, the bibliographical annotations were grouped alphabetically.

This study deals with the planned public school ethnic mixing of basically Black and White students. It is felt that in order to have integration, there must be desegregation

(elimination of segregation). It is not the intent of this study to critique in any way the public school systems of the United States; neither does this study propose alternatives to the plans or suggested plans for the implementation of integration strategies of the school districts involved.

POSITIVE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION

Anderson, L.V., The Effects of Desegregation on the Achievement and Personality Patterns of Negro Children, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1966.

Desegregated students learned more than the segregated students at each grade level. Cross-sectional study was used to compare the achievement and personal adjustment of segregated and desegregated elementary school children. School desegregation at an early age has a positive effect upon black student's achievement.

Busk, Patricia L., and others, "Effects of School Racial Composition on the Self-Concept of Black and White Students," Journal of Educational Research, 67:57-63, October, 1973.

Investigation of self-esteem and self-concept of the ability of black and white students attending integrated and segregated schools. Blacks who attended integrated schools developed more self-esteem. The factor affecting the student's self-concept is the racial composition of the school they attend.

Chapin, M.D., "Self-Concept, Level of Aspiration, and Academic Achievement," Journal of Negro Education, 37:435-439, Fall, 1968.

Chapin found self-concept to be significantly related to the academic achievement of students. Self-concept of ability and level of aspiration of both black and white students attending segregated schools were significantly lower than those of students attending desegregated or integrated schools. Integrated students have higher self-esteem than segregated students.

Crain, R.L., "School Integration and the Academic Achievement, of Negroes," Sociology of Education, 44:1-26, Winter 1971.

Negroes who attended integrated schools were more likely to have graduated from high school, more likely to have attended college, and score higher on a verbal test than those who attended northern segregated schools.

Denmark, Florence L., "The Effects of Integration on Academic Achievement and Self-Concept," Integrated Education, 8:34-41, May, 1970.

The study examined the verbal achievement of black students. Earlier integration seems more beneficial than that which occurs in later school years. The students performed better in an integrated setting.

Eash, Maurice J., and Rasher, Sue Pinzur, "Mandated Desegregation and Improved Achievement: A Longitudinal Study," Sociology of Education, 7:394-397, January, 1977.

Study of desegregation in Forrestville. All children benefited both academically and socially from desegregation. Desegregation cannot itself improve achievement. Teachers in this school system received inservice in working with children who needed more attention. All children benefited from the increased concern for improved classroom instruction that was a consequence of desegregating.

Jencks, Christopher, and Brown, Marsha, "The Effects of Desegregation on Student Achievement: Some New Evidence from the Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey," Sociology of Education, 48:126-140, Winter, 1975.

Study dealt with the reanalysis of the 1966 Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey. Both black and white children showed improvement. Blacks gained relative to whites in all schools where they were more than 10 percent and less than 75 percent of total enrollment.

Lunemann, Alan, "Desegregation and Achievement: A Cross-Sectional and Semi-Longitudinal Look at Berkely, California," The Journal of Negro Education, 42:439-446, Fall, 1976.

Achievement scores tended to rise across time in desegregated schools. Gains in mean achievement scores across grade levels and across ethnic groups were a result of desegregation. Following desegregation the pupils who remained in the district over a two or three-year time period generally did better than pupils who were tested in only one of those years. Also following desegregation all segments of the district were achieving at a slightly higher level than their predecessors.

Martinez-Monfort, A., and Drager, R.M., "Reactions of High School Students to School Desegregation in a Southern Metropolitian Area," Psychology Reports, 30:543-550.

Blacks in desegregated schools are in a stressful environment. Despite many emotional upsets, no significant psychiatric distrubances were observed during the study.

Middleton, Ernest John, The Effects of Desegregation on the Academic Achievement of Black and White High School Seniors in St. Mary Parish, Louisiana, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, University of Colorado, 1974, 172 pp.

The achievement test scores of black seniors were higher following desegregation than they were under segregation. Higher grade point averages were obtained by both blacks and whites following desegregation.

Phillips, L.W., "Desegregation, Reading Achievement, and Problem Behavior in Two Elementary Schools," Urban Education, 9:326-339, January, 1975.

Desegregated students excelled the segregated students in two of the three areas of reading measured. The study involved students in grades two, four and six; overall the pupil's gains exceeded the gains of their segregated peers.

Pritchard, P.N., The Effects of Desegregation on Selected Variables in the Chapel Hill School System, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, University of North Carolina, 1969.

Verbal and math achievement scores were entered as the dependent variables. The study dealt with fifth, seventh, and ninth grade children. School desegregation had positive effects on the black children's math achievement scores.

Purl, Mabel C., "Social Acceptance and Academic Behavior of Desegregated Minority Children," Claremont College Reading Conference Yearbook, 32:147-154, June, 1968.

The study was designed to measure the effects of integration on the achievement and adjustment status of the children involved. Achievement and measured IQ improved with the length of integration. Anxiety was lowered as the periods of integration increased, while social acceptance also increased.

St. John, Nancy H., "Desegregation and Minority Group Performance," Review of Educational Research, 40:111-133, Fall, 1970.

The study states that school desegregation has been shown to be neither successful in raising the achievement levels of the black student. Achievement tends to remain the same or improve following desegregation. Following desegregation subjects generally performed no worse and in most instances better.

St. John, N.H., and Lewis, R., "The Infulence of School Racial Context on Academic Achievement," Social Problems, 19:68-78, 1971.

Thirty-six, sixth-grade classrooms, varying from 7 to 100 percentage of black students enrolled, were selected for this study. Study found a significant positive relationship between the sixth-grade and mean school percentage white and black student's math achievement. There was a significant positive relationship between racial context (percentage of white) and black student's math achievement.

Stallings, Frank H., "A Study of the Immediate Effect of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools," The Journal of Negro Education, 58:424-446, Fall, 1959.

Prior to desegregation there were large gaps between black and white students in Louisville. Study dealt with only the immediate effects of integration on achievement.

The achievement (scholastic) of neither the white pupils nor the black pupils suffered during the initial period of integration; but instead there were substantial gains. The gains by the black students were greater than those made by whites. Integration improved the achievement of black students.

Thomas, Jo Ann Maurine, The Effects of Racial Composition of the Classroom on Academic Achievement, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, University of Denver, 1977, 127 pp.

Study deals with the affect of racial composition of the classroom on the academic achievement of both Black and White students. The results of the study indicate that the racial composition of the classroom has affect on the academic achievement of the students. Blacks in a class with less than 20% Blacks performed better than those in classes with a larger percentage of Blacks. Study also suggested that Black children with Black teachers achieve better than Black students with White teachers.

Travis, Cheryl B., and Anthony, Sharon E., "Some Psychological Consequences of Integration," The Journal of Negro Education, 47:51-58, Spring, 1978.

Results of the study states that the long term effect of integration would not be a negative infulence on the psychological well-being of the black student. Initially integration presents stress for the black student, but after being in an integrated school the stress diminishes.

Waltz, Maynor, and W.G., "Academic Performance and School Integration: A Multi-Ethnic Analysis," The Journal of Negro Education, 43:30-38, Winter, 1974.

The study considered the academic performance of black, Indian, and white students in a newly integrated tri-racial school system. Student achievement scores were analyzed across grade levels. Black students performed better after integration than they did before integration.

Whitaker, Colbert W., "Some Possible Effects of Desegregation on Academic Achievement in Chattanooga," Tennessee Education, 3:38-43, Winter, 1973.

Chattanooga study dealing with the progress of approximately five hundred first graders in fourteen elementary schools was followed for a five-year period. Fifty-nine percent of the black children scored below average in readiness as compared to 32% of the white children. Black children in biracial schools, attained higher average scores than did black children in racially isolated schools. The interracial achievement differences increased each year. Black students in biracial schools consistently outperformed black students in uni-racial schools.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF INTEGRATION

Allen, Irving M., and others,"Psychological Stress of Young Black Children as a Result of School Desegregation," Journal of American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 16:739-747, Autumn, 1977.

Paper dealt with clinical material concerning two young black children who were affected by school desegregation. Stressful environment, thus children have a difficult time coping. Students are placed in a conflict-ridden situation.

Akin, James Paul, A Study of the Relationship of Racial Integration to Reading Achievement in Grades Two, Three and Five in Alexandria, Virginia, City Public Schools, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, George Washington University, 1977, 119 pp.

The students in the sample showed that the difference between the means of reading achievement scores for black and white elementary students measured after integration. The difference between black and white achievement in reading for students in the sample had actually widened after integration, with blacks falling farther behind whites in comparison to the black/white achievement differential present before integration.

Blanchard, Yvonne Laverne, A Study To Examine Learner Efficiency and Institutional Effectiveness as Measured by Perceived Self-Concept and Locus of Control of Black Students in Segregated V. Desegregated Schools, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1978.

Performance of students in the segregated school environment tended to be higher than that of students in the desegregated school environment. Analysis of problems associated with desegregation accommodation, learner efficiency and school effectiveness as they relate to black children.

Drury, Darrell W., "Black Self-Esteem and Desegregated Schools," Sociology of Education, 53:88-103, April, 1980.

Study found that blacks in racially balanced schools have lower self-esteem than blacks in predominantly black schools. This study dealt with differences between schools, and not individuals. Cross racial exposure apparently has a harmful effect upon the self-concept of blacks.

Jackson, Jacqueline J., and Harris, Larry C., "You May Be Normal When You Come Here, But You Won't Be Normal When You Leave," The Black Scholar, 8:2-11, April, 1977.

Paper dealt with different case studies of Black children and public school desegregation. Children have a difficult time adjusting to desegregated schools, especially if violence exists. Desegregation is a stressful event for children. This stress has a negative effect on their personality.

Justin, Neal E., and Thabit, Judy, "Black and White Achievement Before and After Integration," Intellect, 102:458-459, April, 1974.

Report of a research study which attempted to determine if there was an immediate, significant change in the achievement test scores of black and white students after one year of integrated education. Study consisted of six entire classes from two elementary schools. Overall, the means were generally lower after integration than before. The scholastic achievement of the white pupils and the black pupils declined slightly during the initial period of integration. The decline was approximately the same for blacks and whites.

Knight, James H., and others, "The Effect of School Desegregation, Sex of Student, and Socioeconomic Status on the Interpersonal Values of Southern Negro Students," The Journal of Negro Education, 41:4-11, Winter, 1972.

The school desegregation process almost always mean a substantial increase in the porportion of white peers and adult authority figures with which the Negro student must learn to cope with. The Negro student is also forced to cope with interpersonal problems both in terms of his feelings toward himself and in the way he interacts with others in a qualitatively different way than he was able to in a segregated school. Coping with those interpersonal problems may result in considerable stress for Negroes, resulting in their particular sensitivity to those interpersonal behaviors.

Pugh, Roderick W., "A Comparative Study of The Adjustment of Negro Students in Mixed and Separate High Schools," The Journal of Negro Education, 7:607-616, 1943.

Segregated black students had a better social adjustment than blacks that attended integrated schools. Blacks in segregated schools were in a less stressful environment.

Shaw, Marvin E., "The Self-Image of Black and White Pupils in an Integrated School," Journal of Personality, 42:12-22, March, 1974.

The self-perceptions of black and white children was measured in the study. These students were enrolled in an integrated school. The study found that the self-concepts of blacks became less positive when they enter an integrated school.

Smith, Alton, Bernard, A Study of the Educational Effectiveness of Desegregation: A Comparison of Pupil Educational Performance Before and After One Year of Desegregation, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, The University of Oklahoma, 1978, 117 pp.

The study was concerned with whether desegregation through reorganizing schools increased or decreased student academic performance, achievement test scores, and attendance. The results of the study was that desegregation had no effect as it related to attendance and academic performance.

Stephan, Walter G., "School of Desegregation: An Evaluation of Predictions Made in Brown v. Board of Education," Psychological Bulletin, 85:217-238, March, 1978.

Desegregation does not reduce the prejudices of Whites toward Blacks. The self-esteem of Blacks rarely increased in desegregated schools. The achievement of Blacks sometimes increases and rarely decreases in desegregated schools; desegreation increases Black prejudice toward Whites.

Weddington, Joyce Brown, The Effects of Racial Classroom Composition on Academic Achievement, Unpublished doctor's thesis, School of Education, Memphis State University, 1976, 126 pp.

The academic achievement of black students was unaffected by the racial composition of the classroom attended over a two year period; whether the classrooms were predominantly white, racially balanced, predominantly, or all black.

Wilson, Kenneth L., "The Effects of Integration and Class on Black Educational Attainment," Sociology of Education, 52:84-97, April, 1979.

The paper dealt with the difference in educational attainment for blacks in segregated and integrated schools. Academic performance has a negative (though not significantly so) effect on educational attainment for integrated blacks. The integrated setting appears to detract from the positive benefits of academic excellence. Integration appears to have very little direct influence on black attainment processes.

CONCLUSION

From the material researched, it was necessary to categorize the potential problem areas of desegregation into the academic and psychological effects of integration on Black students. These two categories are the subdivisions of the categories which discussed a positive relationship between performance and integration, and those studies which revealed a negative relationship.

The first topic dealt with the positive relationship between desegregation and academic achievement. There is evidence which supports the claim that Black students enrolled at integrated schools at an early age (first grade) perform better than those who entered during their later school years (fifth grade). There is also a positive relationship between the relative impact of integration on academic achievement and the percentage of Black enrolled at an integrated school. This positive relationship is that a Black student in an integrated school of which the Black percentage is less than 20% did better academically than their counterparts in an integrated school with a higher percentage of Black students.

The studies which showed a decrease in the area of psychological adjustments of Black students in integrated schools, found that an initial environment of integration was very important. Travis stated that initially integration presents stress for the Black student, but the stress has no long term effect, and the effects of this stress are diminished as the age of which a Black student is subjected to integration decreases. The study done by Chapin found self-concept to be related to the Black students psychological experiences. In explanation; if a Black student does well in school, their self-concept increases. Thus if a Black student does well in an integrated school the bridge of the black-white interface shortens immensely as the Black students self-concept relative to his white peers increases.

The studies which composes of researchers that found a negative conation between integration and Black students will also include those which found no difference. Akin found that, with integration the academic differences between black and white students broadened. In another study, Wilson found that integration has little direct influence on Black academic achievement processes. Psychological researchers discovered that placing Black children in integrated schools placed them in an environment of increased psychological stress, which was very harmful.

Knight reported that the Black student has to cope with an increased number of interpersonal problems, when the number of white peers and authority figures increased. Coping with these "extra" problems caused increased stress for the Black student.

It can be concluded from the material researched, that researchers have not yet agreed on the effects of integration on Black students. Generally it is perceived that integration helps the Black student relate to his white peers academically; yet introduces increased interpersonal problems for a Black student in an integrated school.